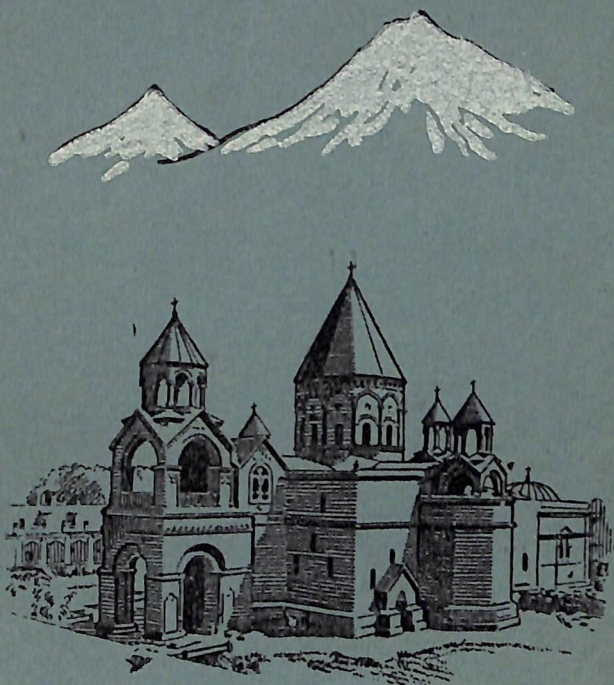


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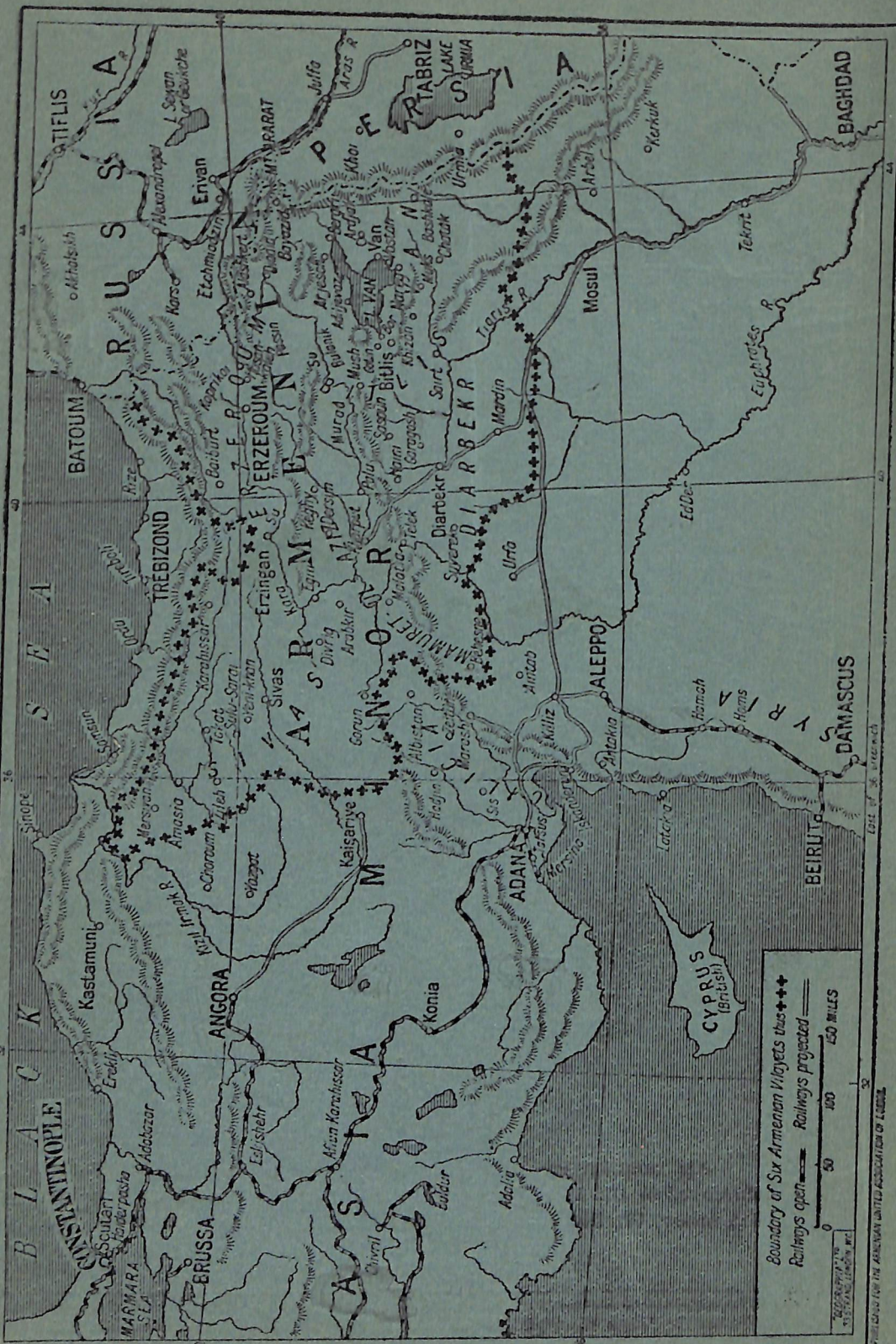
A SEARCHLIGHT ON ARMENIA.

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All communications affecting this periodical should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, The Armenian United Association of London, 32, Richmond Gardens, Shepherd's Bush, London, W.



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ARARAT.

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Current Notes.

It is our endeavour, no less than our duty, to make this periodical representative of every phase of Armenian nationality. It was with pleasure, therefore, that we received the suggestion to devote a few pages monthly to Armenian literature. To English-speaking races, Armenia, in spite of her past history, and in spite of her being a bulwark of Christendom in the Near East from the earliest times, remains an unknown land; and to nine out of ten such people the term "Armenia" is in some inseparable way associated with "massacres," which in an uncomfortable way intrude themselves periodically on their notice in their morning papers. That people prone to massacre should have a literature of their own, and a rich one into the bargain, would be beyond their comprehension—they would be even more astonished to be told that just 1,500 years ago a consummate feat was performed by learned Armenians of manufacturing an alphabet for a language which lived on borrowed characters, and utilising it at once in a unique translation of the Bible. Armenia has had its Golden Age of literature, it has its modern literature as well, both constituting a rich storehouse. In adopting the suggestion that our periodical should be less "technical," we are making a small beginning this month with a "Literary Section." Its continuance must depend on the assistance we receive from our readers. Stories and folk-lore connected with Armenia are to be found in abundance, while historical sketches would be instructive. The poetic fire burns among its children as it ever did among people who are strenuously going through the fiery furnace of life, and have not had time to settle down to the humdrum contemplation of £ s. d. If we can stir the talent lying dormant in our midst by opening our pages to glimpses of what is hidden away, so to speak, among these little known people, we shall have performed indeed a national duty.

The holiday season has continued to hang as a fog on the Armenian Question, and even those usually well-informed can only speak in oracular terms as to what is being done—or not being done. Berlin, St. Petersburg and Constantinople have to manufacture news for public consumption. Now we are told the ambassadorial conference at Constantinople has been a failure; again, that active negotiations are in progress between the Porte and Germany and Austria to empower Germany and Russia to control the projected reforms; and finally, that since order has been restored in Armenia, there is no longer such urgency for reform—this last an amazing piece of news indeed. In the midst of the prevailing chaos it was a relief to have a connected account of the position from the well-informed Constantinople correspondent of the "*Daily Telegraph*," which we reproduce in full in this issue. Now that the new British Ambassador to Turkey, Sir Louis Malet, fresh from the Foreign Office here, has taken up his

duties, it will be interesting to note in the near future what bearing the attitude of England has in the solution of this vexed problem, and whether the new *Eltchi*, with his latest instructions in his pocket, will be able to bring into line the divergent views of the six Great Powers, so as to end a long-standing scandal to civilisation.

All interested in the "Armenian Question," and especially those of our readers who have not yet fathomed its real import, are earnestly referred to the address of Boghos Nubar Pasha which appears in this issue. The lucidity with which the case has been put, and the sobriety with which the claims of Armenians "to secure the right to live" are advanced, make the address of exceptional value. If convincing advocacy were sufficient, Armenian reforms would indeed be an accomplished fact; but Turkey is still deep in her mediæval slumber, narcotised by visions of serfdom, murder and pillage—might these not be allowed a little longer spell away from the scrutinising eyes of Europe? Though it is pleasing to have it on the authority of Boghos Pasha that Turkish politicians, enlightened by recent events, are waking up to the necessity of European control for the salvation of their empire, our recollections of previous "awakenings," to be followed by a turning over to slumber again, are too vivid to permit us to place much confidence in them. The "awakening," to be real, needs seismic or volcanic force, and it remains for the Powers to judge of the intensity with which such force is to be applied, so as to produce a permanent effect.

We would also draw special attention to the article entitled "Views of an Enlightened Turk." Therein we have the unbiassed views of an educated Turk as to the intrinsic worth of the Armenian as an asset of his Empire. All honour to Ali Kemal Bey for having fearlessly diagnosed the malady of the Armenian Provinces. We have long known the disease to be "Kurditis," and it has been more than a shrewd guess that the case was in the hands of an incompetent surgeon, unable or unwilling to use the knife. Ali Kemal Bey is himself a physician and not a surgeon, and is over-cautious in describing the remedy as difficult; we feel, too, in reading between the lines, that he is somewhat sceptical as to the power of the Ottoman Government to effect a cure. It is something, however, to have had the admissions of a well-known Turkish politician. Our conviction is that the disease will never be eradicated without the assistance of foreign surgeons.

The patient sufferings of Armenians under their Kurdish persecutors has occasionally given rise to the comment that as a nation Armenians are devoid of martial spirit, such detractors being oblivious of the fact that the Turkish authorities do not permit the possession of arms of any description by the subject races, who thus fall easy victims to persecution, where law and order are of very secondary importance.

Martial spirit, however, is far from being dead among Armenians, numbers of whom are now the adopted children of every nation under the sun, and whose armies they enter. Their valour, from generals downwards, has been more than conspicuous in the Russian forces, while the Turks themselves have quite recently paid homage to the military qualities of Armenian soldiers who served in their ranks during the Balkan war. A striking illustration in support of what we are advancing comes from the Philippopolis correspondent of "*Azadamart*," under date Sept. 8th. The Armenian colony of that place in Bulgaria recently lost one of its bravest and worthiest sons in the person of Lieut.-Col. Garabed Vartazarmian of the Bulgarian army. He had distinguished himself in the battles of Kirk-Kilissi and Lule-Burgas; and in the second phase of the Balkan struggle he received six wounds, while fighting against Greeks and Servians, which brought him his promotion in rank and medal for bravery. Weakened by his strenuous exertions during a long campaign, he fell an easy victim to cholera in his 47th year. His funeral was attended with full military honours, while the soldiers under his command idolised him to such an extent that they were with difficulty prevented from opening the coffin to have a last look at him. In his will he asks his widow to bring up their children as brave and self-denying soldiers, and to instil into them the love of their fatherland, Armenia, as well as of their adopted country, Bulgaria.

Is the ultimate fate of Asia Minor and of Armenia to be decided by the peaceful penetration of the Powers from divergent directions? In a country under ordinary civilised government we would hail with satisfaction the opening up by railways of unbeaten tracts; but can economic progress go hand in hand with political progress in Turkey? The long stretch of the Bagdad Railway will cast a ray of light into a benighted region. Progress is being made rapidly, and the Tadjerli-Pagas-Alexandretta section of it is to be opened for traffic by the end of this month. In our article in this issue on "France and the opening up of Armenia" we have sketched the projected railways and irrigation scheme which that Power has drawn within its sphere. We have further to record the reported concession to Italy for the construction of a railway starting inland from Adalia on the south coast of Asia Minor. The Powers that control these highways will take good care that peace and order are not disturbed along their dividend-earning tract. That railways are the precursors of civilisation in a properly organised state, we have not the slightest doubt; but outside the portion of land actually allotted to these railways Turkish law and Turkish justice will still prevail, and these, so far as our experience goes, are absolutely impervious to civilising influences. The "peaceful penetration" of the Powers could act either as a leaven or an absorbent. As the world cannot stand still for the Turk, we are inclined to think that the absorbent properties will prevail, to the ultimate benefit of humanity in the regions penetrated.

In our last issue we promised to refer more fully to St. Mesrop, the inventor of the Armenian alphabet. We give this month a representation of this devout scholar taken from a painting in the Monastery of San Lazaro, together with a brief sketch of his life. Armenians have always taken a pride in their literature, the origin of which was regarded by them as supernatural; and in the painting which we represent, the artist has not failed to pourtray in the features of St. Mesrop that pious invocation of heavenly aid, and of that divine grace, to which he himself ascribed his success. It is the intention of our Association to hold a commemorative festival on November 9th in honour of the 1,500th anniversary of the invention of the alphabet, and the 400th anniversary of the introduction of Armenian printing.

Boghos Nubar Pasha on Armenian Reforms.

Under the chairmanship of General de Lacroix, a lecture was delivered recently in Paris by M. René Pinon, on "Turkey in Asia and the Armenian Provinces." At this gathering Boghos Nubar Pasha, the Armenian delegate, who is charged with the task of keeping before the European Powers the solution of the Armenian Question, delivered an address, of which the following is a translation, with cross headings:

Floods of ink have been poured out on the subject of "Armenian Reforms," but I am afraid the only result has been to confuse the ideas of the public without giving any clear notion as to the character of our claims. I propose, therefore, to explain in explicit terms the necessity, the nature, and the scope of Armenian reforms.

On the necessity of these reforms it is needless to dilate. M. Pinon's lecture has set clearly before us the state of affairs in the Armenian Provinces. An end must be put to the conditions of anarchy, to the persecutions, and to the exactions which have lasted all too long, and by which a peaceful and industrious population has been worn out. Our only hope for the attainment of this end lies in the Reforms. It is true that since the attention of Europe has been drawn to Turkish Armenia, other solutions have been proposed. There has been talk of independence and of self-government. Let me say at the outset that such a solution is impracticable, and that, in view of the racial and geographical characteristics of the Armenian vilayets, the National Delegation has never entertained any such idea. The fate of our Asiatic fellow countrymen is intertwined with that of the Ottoman Empire; the Armenians are well aware of this fact, and they ask for no more than to remain under Ottoman rule, provided always that their lives are respected, that their wives and daughters are no longer subjected to risks of violation, that their property is free from the danger of seizure and pillage—provided, in a word, that they can in future live and work in peace. Here is the whole reason for the reforms. Let us now proceed to examine their nature.

REFORMS AND TREATIES.

Armenian reforms comprise all those administrative measures, to be applied under European control, which we demand should be granted to the vilayets, viz., security through the formation of a gendarmerie, justice through the reform of the law-courts, and the proper development of the provinces by sound finance, by the restoration of confiscated lands, and by the opening up of communications. There is nothing new about these demands. They derive their virtue from the Treaty of Berlin which, having replaced the Treaty of San Stefano, constitutes their legal foundation. Both the above treaties, that of San Stefano by its XVIth Article, and that of Berlin by its LXIst Article, imply an engagement on the part of the Porte to institute reforms in the Armenian Provinces; but between the two articles in the respective treaties there is a difference which is worthy of our attention. The XVIth Article of the Treaty of San Stefano stipulates that the Armenian territories, occupied by the Russian army when the treaty was signed, were not to be evacuated until after the reforms had been introduced. This stipulation involved material and effective pressure rendering certain the application of reforms. By the Treaty of Berlin, however, this pressure was removed; for in the new treaty it was stipulated that the withdrawal of the Russian army from Turkish territory should be effected directly the treaty was signed; and as a guarantee of Armenian reforms, there was substituted the collective control of the Powers. In theory this substitution was full of promise; but in fact Article LXI of the Treaty of Berlin has remained a dead letter. No reforms having been carried out by the Porte, the Powers had nothing to supervise.

PORTE AND POWERS.

In 1895, after the first massacres of Sassoun, the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin decided to put pressure on the Porte and so force the latter to keep its engagements; and the English, French and Russian Ambassadors at Constantinople were charged with the editing of a project of reforms. The scheme thus drawn up is known as the Memorandum of May 11th, 1899, and it was approved by the three Powers whose representatives had taken no part in its formulation. It was even accepted and promulgated by the Porte. Is it necessary to add that it has never been put in force? Yet it may at least serve us to-day as a model for the strictly legal drafting of our present demands, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Berlin, from which the Memorandum in question emanates. For, let me repeat, our demands are not new; and to add weight to our just claims, we base them upon an international agreement, upon the Treaty of Berlin, and upon a scheme drafted by the Powers themselves. Taking this scheme as our guide, it has been our endeavour to steer clear of politics, and to invest our reforms with a purely administrative character.

GENERAL APPLICABILITY OF REFORMS.

It has been asserted that these reforms, however moderate they may be, will be of benefit to the Armenians alone. It is essential that

this error should be refuted. It arises really from the fact that the reforms are currently spoken of as *Armenian* reforms, and that it is by Armenians that the demand for them is voiced. In truth, these reforms would be in the common interest, in the interest of Musulmans no less than that of Christians, for we cannot possibly admit that in any given region security, justice and economic advance can profit one section of the population to the exclusion of another.

We have shown that the reforms in question are founded upon international undertakings, that they are purely administrative in character, and that they will be no less useful to the Musulman than to the Christian portion of the population. It remains to show that the efficacy of the reforms is entirely dependent upon the existence of European control—that such control is in reality the sole guarantee that they would be endowed with living force, and that their application would be regular and fruitful.

EUROPEAN CONTROL NECESSARY.

Very numerous are the schemes of reform brought forward by the Ottoman Government since 1861; many of these were inspired by the European Powers, and steps were even taken to carry some of them into effect; but all alike were abandoned precisely because, in the absence of European control, there was nothing to ensure the maintenance of continuous effort. The most striking example in this respect is the proposed reform of 1895, which was never put in force for the reason that the Porte, when signifying its acceptance, modified it by suppressing the condition of European control. In Turkey, but one exception to this rule can be found, and this is in the sphere of financial reforms relating to the Council of the Public Debt which has reorganised the finances of the Empire. This exception serves merely to illustrate the rule; for while it is true that the Council is not directly subject to European control, the mode of appointment of the European members of the Council, who are directly selected by the bondholding syndicates, and are therefore altogether independent of political fluctuations, provides a guarantee equivalent to that of European control.

TURKEY'S CAPACITY—OR INCAPACITY.

Thus experience has shown that reforms which are not enforced under European control remain mere promises, and that even in the rare instances when they are really carried into effect, their application is for very short duration. There is nothing astonishing in this to those who are cognisant that in Turkey the carrying out of administrative rules is often altogether independent of the will of the Government, whose instructions are either ignored or wrongly interpreted. Negligence, incapacity, and abuse of power are traditional among provincial officials, and are carried to such a pitch that the central Government is often quite unable to surmount such obstacles. The present situation in the Armenian provinces is a convincing proof of this assertion. The Government is aware of the danger, and need not be suspected at this critical hour of deliberately fomenting the anarchy that prevails in the vilayets—yet it is altogether unable to bring this state of anarchy to

an end. It has been unable to enforce, through local authorities, the suppression of crimes and abuses of every description; and these crimes and these abuses are graver to-day than they ever were before. Thus, the control stipulated by the LXIst Article of the Treaty of Berlin is not merely indispensable; but furthermore, if that control is to be effective, it must be exercised on the spot—the Powers must have intermediaries capable of ensuring that the local officials who are charged with giving effect to the reforms shall really do so, without weakness, without partiality, and without seeking to evade the enforcement of the law.

Such, then, is the end to be attained, and its attainment may be achieved by several different methods. It is for the Powers, in concert with the Sublime Porte, to choose the method which will best fulfil the joint conditions of giving efficacy to the reforms and of involving nothing which will impair the prestige of the Throne.

EUROPEAN OPINION ON CONTROL.

The necessity for European control has been emphasised by many eminent European statesmen and publicists. Lord Granville, when Foreign Secretary, declared that "In the absence of European control it is greatly to be feared that all attempts at reforms in Turkey will prove abortive." At a later date, Lord Salisbury maintained, not merely that European supervision was necessary, but furthermore that such supervision must be exercised on the spot, and that if directed from Constantinople it would prove illusory. In a leading article, the "*Times*" recently stated that "no reform can succeed in Turkey without European control." An editorial in the "*Temps*" is no less categorical: "It would be superfluous to-day to talk of reforms without control; no one would believe in such reforms. Let Turkey rest assured of this."

AWAKENING OF TURKEY.

These opinions have found an echo even in Turkey where, and we are glad to be able to state this, European control has to-day numerous advocates. Some of the organs of the Turkish Press in Constantinople have given in their frank adhesion; certain Turkish politicians, enlightened by recent events and believing that the salvation of their country can be secured only along the path of reform, have been far-sighted enough to recognise that the necessary reforms can be rendered effective only through the instrumentality of European control. We have reason to believe that among the members of the party in power there are several, and these not the least important, who share the same view, and who are held back only by questions of form, which can easily be solved in a way to give satisfaction to all reasonable susceptibilities. Nor must we forget that in accepting European control the Ottoman Government will not be making any new concession, but will merely be keeping an engagement entered into by its predecessors and by which it is actually bound.

DANGER OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION.

The Sublime Porte cannot but understand, therefore, that it is in its own interest to offer no opposition to this indispensable European control, for the territorial integrity of Turkey in Asia would fail to be maintained without reforms, and, as we have just shown, such reforms can become real only at the price of European control. By re-establishing order in the Armenian provinces, and by suppressing the causes of discontent and disturbance, the reforms will ward off that foreign intervention which must endanger territorial integrity. But such intervention cannot fail to occur if those who have staked their last hope upon the negotiations now in progress fail to obtain the reforms they are expecting. The peril of intervention is one which the Powers, no less than the Turks themselves, desire to avoid. The principle now underlying the policy of the Powers, and officially affirmed by their several Governments, is the maintenance of the territorial integrity of Turkey in Asia and the improvement of its financial position. Armenian reforms are a cardinal factor in this policy. Through the improvement of the economic position of Turkey in Asia, the financial interests in Europe, to which the Ottoman Empire is indebted, will obtain additional guarantees; by the re-establishment of order and by the suppression of all chances of disturbance, there will be assured the maintenance of territorial integrity alike from within and from without. To sum up—it may be affirmed that the reforms will secure for Turkey in Asia the maintenance of territorial integrity and an improving financial situation; whereas the lack of such reforms will inevitably result in forcing intervention with all its consequences.

HARMONY AND SOLUTION.

It thus becomes apparent that the importance of Armenian reforms extends far beyond the limits of the six vilayets, that the influence of these reforms will be felt throughout the whole of Turkey, and that their realisation is in accordance with the policy of Europe. Such a harmony of interests, common to the six Powers and to the Porte, to maintain the territorial integrity and to consolidate the financial situation of the Ottoman Empire, as well as the interest of the Armenians to secure the right to live, is so rare as to give us confidence, and we are now convinced that the Powers, in agreement with Turkey, will at length solve the Armenian problem. The reasons calling for action, which were formerly of a merely moral and humanitarian order, have now become far more pressing, since they derive their force from far-reaching political and economic necessities. It remains our aspiration that Europe will not be satisfied with leaving its work half finished, that it will not be content with half measures and partial reforms; for this will merely postpone the danger which Europe wishes to-day to remove for ever.



From a painting in the Monastery of San Lazzaro, Venice.

Originally a secretary to the King of Armenia, and a disciple of St. Nerses the Great. In order to battle against the remnants of paganism in the kingdom, he, in conjunction with St. Sahak, then patriarch, and with the king's authority, set to work to invent an alphabet, so as to enable the people to understand the liturgy and the Bible, which were then read in the churches in the Greek and Syriac languages. In 404 he succeeded in his task, and his alphabet, with two additional letters, has come down to the present day. He then, with St. Sahak, translated the Bible with the assistance of one hundred selected scholars, bringing the work to a conclusion in 433. After this came the work of preparing a liturgy on the lines of that of St. Basil of Cæsarea. St. Mesrop died in 440.

Vanishing Armenia.

(Continued from page 78.)

III.

Thrown thus among Kurds having varied ideas and interests, the Armenians find themselves between the devil and the deep sea; while the inter-enmity of the rival Kurdish tribes in getting them to submit to their arbitrary levying of taxes results in the tragic emigration of batches of thousands of Armenian villagers. Unable to support themselves and to pay exorbitant imposts which are levied from more than one direction, there is no course left open to them but to leave their native land.

Thus the most law-abiding citizens of Turkey are victimized by those who are imbued by separatist tendencies. But what, then, are the Turks doing—are they not enacting so-called reforms, thanks to the incidence of which the Armenians are worse off than ever? The following well illustrates this statement.

Should two neighbouring villages, one Armenian and the other Kurdish, contain the same number of inhabitants and have the same amount of property, according to the *Multezim* rating of taxes, the Kurdish occupiers will pay £25, whereas £125 will fall to the lot of the Armenians. These taxes are collected from the Armenians in hard cash and not in produce, as in the case of their Kurdish neighbours. As these villages are far removed from the highways of civilisation and money is practically non-existent, the peasant as a rule fails to turn his scanty produce into cash to pay the tax collector. It is the common practice, therefore, for the latter, on the failure of the peasant to supply the money, to put up to auction without much hesitation the peasant's landed and personal property, thus at one stroke denuding him of both his home and his means of livelihood.

In addition to this procedure called Reform, there is another method of ousting the Armenians from their homes. The Agricultural Bank (established by the notorious Abdul Hamid) advances money on mortgage, and about 95 per cent. of the land of Armenians has been mortgaged in order to enable the owners to meet the exorbitant taxes. But as soon as the time expires for the repayment of the mortgage money—interest not being accepted from the owner to prolong the time for repayment—the land is put up for sale, while secret circulars are sent out to Turkish or Kurdish agents commanding them to purchase at the auction, always at rates ruinous to the Armenians, and again the latter are rendered homeless.

These systematic persecutions contribute greatly to the wholesale emigration of the Armenians to all parts of the world. From one district alone (Kharput), within the last two years, 40,000 able males have emigrated, and in April of this year 1,276 Armenians, most of them young men, left Erzeroum.

(To be continued.)

Views of an Enlightened Turk.

The recent disasters to Turkey seem to have had a sobering effect on some of the Turkish leaders, enabling them to appreciate in their true light the relations which should exist between the various peoples which go to make up the Turkish Empire. One of these leaders, Ali Kemal Bey, an enlightened and liberal Young Turk, who was in the Opposition after the proclamation of the Constitution in July, 1908, came under the accusation of espionage and escaped to Europe. Since the war with the Balkan League began, he has returned to Constantinople where he has taken up the direction of *Ikdam*, a Liberal daily paper of the place which wields considerable influence.

Recently, in a series of articles to his paper, Ali Kemal Bey has been making a somewhat successful diagnosis of the causes which are contributing to the gradual decline and downfall of the Turkish Empire. Though we do not quite see eye to eye with him on certain points, yet the advance in thought in a Turkish politician is so remarkable that we do not hesitate to give to our readers translations (by our correspondent "A.S.S.") of some of his opinions which appear in the issue of *Ikdam* of September 6th:—

"Our Armenian compatriots inhabit in large numbers the tract of country composed of the vilayets of Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis, and portions of Sivas and Kharput. According to certain statistics, their number is estimated at 1,250,000. This same tract of country is also inhabited by large numbers of Kurds and Turks.

"It is unfortunate that from time immemorial the Kurds and the Armenians have not been able to live together on friendly terms; and it is due to this fact that it has not been possible to secure a satisfactory measure of peace in those provinces; indeed, that region seems to be a veritable hot-bed of disaster for the Turkish Empire. It is reasonable, therefore, to ask who is responsible for such a state of affairs—is it due to the Kurds, to the Armenians, to ourselves, or to our Government?

"The lack of security in Eastern Anatolia—or, in so-called Armenia—seems to be directly due to certain economic, social and political causes. Without a just consideration of these causes it would seem that all attempts at effective reforms are doomed to failure, as our past experience has proved. If we have failed, it is because we have failed to make a correct diagnosis of the disease. The remedy, however, would seem to be difficult.

"As stated above, it must be primarily in economic, social and political regeneration that our task lies, in order that we might be in a position to satisfy the moral and material requirements of those provinces. But, alas! we, who have failed to accomplish easier tasks, shall we be able to solve problems of such difficulty? On the other hand, however, nothing is so difficult in this world that it cannot be accomplished; and our best efforts should be directed towards the education of the people.

"These Kurds, be it known, who live a nomad life in Eastern Anatolia (the term 'Armenia' is unpalatable to the Turk—Ed. 'Ararat') are one of the most intelligent and energetic races in the world. . . . History shows that Kurdish *ulemas* have left their mark on Arabic qualities—they have introduced into Arabic poetry a philosophy which is peculiarly their own. At the present moment this nomad race, living in Eastern Anatolia, are very backward, compared with the Armenians, in matters economic, social and political, and hence arises the continual source of trouble in those regions. We might give a brief explanation of this chronic malady. We confess that Kurds are ignorant of the methods of production, and attempt to get their livelihood, not by agriculture, trade or the arts, but by fighting and bravery—(? murder and robbery!—Ed. 'Ararat.') Where they would demur in spending a farthing towards an agricultural implement, they are ready to pay ten, twenty, even fifty Turkish pounds for a rifle.

"If we were to draw comparisons between the Kurds and the Armenians living in the same tract of country, we should find that our Armenian countrymen are possessed of many gifts—of squeezing water out of rocks, of labouring night and day in order to qualify themselves in trade, agriculture and the arts. By being ready to bear all moral and material privations, they manage to transform soil into gold. But their skill and their gifts are still more to be envied because they successfully follow their bent, not only in their own country, but also in Europe, in America, and in other civilised parts of the world. Then, let us again picture to ourselves the severity of the climate of the hinterland stretching from the Taurus mountains as far as the Caucasus and the Persian frontier, and we shall be able to understand that these two races, under existing conditions, cannot live peaceably side by side.

"The Armenians labour and cling to their ploughs, putting up with all manner of difficulties, and are thus able to produce wealth; whereas the Kurds, especially the nomad Kurds, are unable to do this—they consume, which means that they rob and steal from others. Really, the one race produces, the other consumes. Under such circumstances what is the duty incumbent on the Government? Is it not its duty to protect the rights of both parties, with due regard to law and justice, and thus secure peace and tranquility?

"To attain this object, the Kurdish tribes must be made to lead a settled life and be taught to cultivate the soil; and it is in this way that the dictates of law and justice will be met. Unfortunately it will take some time to teach the Kurdish tribes the peaceful art of agriculture; and it will necessitate a heavy outlay by the State. These tribes, from their chiefs downwards, know no other way of earning their livelihood than by the weapons they use; nor are they willing to adapt themselves to any other method. A high State official returning recently from those provinces, gave it as his opinion that the Kurdish tribes look upon honest work and agriculture in the light of an indignity. . . . Is it not a heavy responsibility which rests on the Ottoman Government for permitting Armenians and others to be relieved of their goods in order that those tribes should feed?"

France and the Opening Up of Armenia.

The recent negotiations in Paris between Djavid Bey and the French Government have resulted in a provisional agreement with regard to the French demands for railway and port concessions in Syria and Armenia, in return for which the French Government will favour the issue of a Turkish loan in France, and will, if agreed to by the other Powers, give its consent to an increase of Customs dues and the levy of an income tax on foreigners resident in Turkey. The arrangement, involving a loan of 28 to 30 millions sterling, is dependent, too, on the success of the Franco-German negotiations regarding the Bagdad Railway; and on the many important questions which have been referred to the Balkan International Financial Commission.

SCOPE OF THE PROJECTS.

The French concessions affecting Armenia relate to the projected railway lines from Samsun to Sivas and Kharput, and from Trebizond to Sivas; with special treatment at the ports of Eregli (Heraclea) and Ineboli on the Black Sea littoral. It is also to be noted that an important French Commission is investigating the needs of an Armenian irrigation scheme.

FRANCE AND AGREEMENTS.

Shortly after the Russo-German Potsdam agreement, the French Government obtained the promise of several railway concessions in Armenia and Syria; and by a special clause Germany renounced all claim to construct railways from the Bagdad line to the Black Sea littoral. Such concessions were really meant, to some extent, as a compensation for the opportunities allowed to be lost at Constantinople in connection with the Bagdad Railway, which France, by virtue of her influence and financial interests, had a right to expect. With the concessions granted to her in Syria and Armenia, France will now be able to maintain a kind of balance against the preponderating German interests of the Bagdad Railway. In this connection it should be noted that in 1899 Russia obtained from the Porte the right of veto on railway concessions on the Black Sea coast. MM. Poincaré and Delcassé, however, during their respective visits to St. Petersburg—the former last year, the latter recently—have succeeded in removing Russian opposition.

FRENCH COMMISSION APPOINTED.

With the practical object of setting to work, the French Government has sent to Armenia a Commission of fourteen gentlemen who are experts in their respective spheres of physical and political science. Among them are two Russians, as well as one Armenian, M. Z. Khanzadian, who is an officer in the French army. This Commission is to

spend four months in making investigations on the spot in hydrography, orography and physical geography; and will also devote its attention to statistics and to questions of political economy. The members are to meet at Tiflis in the Caucasus, cross the frontier at Kars, and begin their researches at Erzeroum. From thence they will proceed through Van, Diarbekir and Kharput to Malatia, and will finally strike south-westwards to Marash.

ARMENIA AN ENTITY.

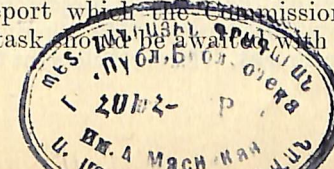
Hitherto Armenia has been commonly confused with Anatolia or Asia Minor, being sometimes described—and wrongly—as “the Eastern Provinces of Asia Minor,” or “Eastern Anatolia.” If we refer to the two great authorities on the subject—M. Arman Apish, the Russian topographer, who has surveyed Armenia, and M. Chukhacheff, who has travelled in Asia Minor or Anatolia—we would find both these gentlemen agreed that the two countries are strictly separate; that Armenia begins where Asia Minor or Anatolia ends, *i.e.*, at the Kizil-Irmak river. Armenia, then—or, to use its scientific description, the Armenian plateau—bounded as it is by the Djorok and the Taurus range, must be considered as a separate entity, not only on account of its ancient political and ethnic claims, but also from the strictly geographical point of view.

NATURAL SPRING OF WESTERN ASIA.

It is noteworthy that all the large rivers which drain Asiatic Turkey and Mesopotamia, *viz.*, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Sagoun, the Tchigoun, the Djorok, the Araxes, the Kizil-Arvat, and even the Eshil-Arvat, rise in Armenia, which is thus seen to be the chief source of the water supply for Western Asia. The country is mountainous, rising in parts to between 2,000 and 3,000 metres above sea level; hence the rivers, in their course through the country, attain exceptional rapidity. In the spring, when the snow is melting, they overflow their banks, submerging the neighbouring fields and even villages. It is interesting to note that during the last five hundred years Lake Van has acted as a kind of natural reservoir, absorbing and retaining the surplus flow, until it has trebled its size during that period.

COMMISSION'S AIM.

The Commission will thoroughly investigate the country and its resources, and will draw up a practical scheme of irrigation, which is undoubtedly the most essential condition for ensuring stable economic prosperity in that region. It is a fortunate circumstance for such a scheme that the Armenian mountain ranges run in roughly parallel directions. The Report which the Commission will present on the completion of their task will be awaited with the utmost interest.



Armenia and the European Powers.

As the Balkan question has been shelved for the present—since the negotiations will inevitably last for some considerable time longer—and as the settlement of the financial points at issue has likewise led to a period of definitive peace, the negotiations with Russia and Germany being also at an end, the question which has once more become very pressing is that of reforms, and especially reforms in Armenia.

The *Tanin*, the most important of the Young Turk newspapers, publishes two articles by Hussein Djavid Bey, who courageously declares, in principle, that the future of the Turkish Empire depends on the intelligence and promptitude with which the Party of Union and Progress can utilise its recent striking successes to carry out the work of those reforms which have been so often promised and never yet realised.

MAHMUD SHEFKET'S PLANS.

By reason of certain possible eventualities it is necessary to set forth the present position of the reforms in Armenia, the more so as the British Government is directly concerned in this new phase of Young Turk policy. It may be recalled that when the Cabinet of Mahmud Shefket Pasha came into power, it was resolved that Turkey should be reorganised on a modern Western basis by being divided into six sections, or "zones of inspection," where foreign administrators would be provided with extensive powers, and would be in touch with other Western functionaries at Constantinople, whose activity would take the form of giving advice to the various Ministries.

This plan, which was fully described in *The Daily Telegraph* last January, would also serve—at least, so the murdered Grand Vizier believed—as the basis of reforms in Armenia, the vilayets inhabited by the Armenians constituting two zones out of the six. Besides this Mahmud Shefket wished to renew the relations existing between Turkey and England on the basis of the Convention of Cyprus; (1) By satisfactorily settling all outstanding disputes with Great Britain; and (2) by asking England to provide a corps of inspection for the vilayets of Anatolia and the Ministry of the Interior.

WIDESPREAD INTRIGUES.

These plans came to nothing on account of opposition and intrigues in Turkey, for the Grand Vizier was hindered in his designs by fanatics who were entirely ignorant of Western culture. Prince Said Halim, who acted as Foreign Minister at the time, also encountered so many obstacles that precious weeks were wasted in the endeavour to obtain the necessary practical support.

On the other hand, England, preoccupied by the jealousy aroused in Russia and Germany by the Turkish project to confide the entire inspection of Armenia to her, hesitated to appoint the officials asked for by the Turkish Government. Nevertheless, at the end of June last,

the readers of *The Daily Telegraph* were the first to learn that the Foreign Office had consented in principle to nominate two inspectors for Armenia and one inspector-general for the Ministry of the Interior.

In the meantime, however, Russian diplomacy had not been inactive. Russia, pursuing her recently assumed rôle of protectress of the Armenians, complained that the Turkish Government was not taking sufficiently active steps in view of the intolerable situation existing in Anatolia, and that urgent measures must be adopted to ensure the carrying out of Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin. This, it was suggested, could be arranged by summoning a conference of the six Great Powers to draw up a plan of Armenian reforms.

CONFERENCE MEETS.

A conference on the lines suggested did actually meet early in July, and immediately two lines of cleavage became manifest. The Russian proposal was that the six principal vilayets forming the province of Armenia should be united in a single province and administered by a governor, whose appointment would be approved by the six Great Powers, similarly to the Governor of the Lebanon.

The other proposal was that put forward by Germany. This plan was essentially the Turkish plan—i.e., there should be two zones of administration and two inspector-generals nominated by the Porte.

But this line of cleavage did not long exist.

The questions at issue having been turned over by the Conference to the respective Chanceries, Germany, who thought it an opportune moment to provide an Armenian clientèle for herself in the event of future complications in Asia, had the question examined at close hand. Professor Lipsius, a well-known German Orientalist, and a specialist in the Armenian language, was despatched to Anatolia, where he conversed with numerous and representative personages.

GERMANY'S ATTITUDE.

On the other hand, Boghos Nubar Pasha, president of the Armenian Delegations in Europe, encouraged by his interviews with Baron von Schön, the German Ambassador to Paris, who showed a very friendly disposition towards him, paid a visit to Berlin, where he maintained the standpoint that it was necessary to provide for some sort of European control or supervision if the reforms in Armenia were to be really effective.

The result of this was an entire modification of the German attitude, and the acquiescence of the German Government in the following points:—

(1) While continuing to support the plan for two zones and two Inspectors-General, Germany agreed that these Inspectors-General should be appointed by the Six Great Powers, and

(2) Germany also agreed to the principle of equality of representation between Moslems and Christians on the councils of the vilayet and the sanjaks, and in the civil and military functions in all those

localities where the population was not exclusively Moslem ; insisting, nevertheless, as a corrective, on the admission of the principle of proportional representation, but on the basis of a new census made by European inspectors, and five years after such new census had been made.

THE TURKISH VIEW.

As for the Ottoman Government, it has decided to reject this basis of reforms, which had already been semi-officially recommended to it. The Sublime Porte holds that Article 61 of the Berlin Treaty does not compel it to accept the principle of supervision by foreign officials agreed upon by the Six Great Powers, and declares, in addition, that it is convinced that the population of Anatolia would not be prepared to consent to reforms forced upon Turkey by the Powers of Europe.

Although, in this last stage of the question, the Ottoman Government recognises that England may not be able to furnish the officers asked for by the Porte for service in Armenia, the Turkish Government still hopes that this mark of its complete confidence, and its offer of extensive and honourable influence, will not be definitely rejected by Great Britain.

On the other hand, again, the article in the *Tanin* which I have referred to contains certain personal forecasts. If these prove to be true you may rely upon it that the Turkish Government is still making every effort to solve the Armenian question in a manner which will be neither European nor Russian, but at once Ottoman and satisfactory.

Special Constantinople Correspondent,

"The Daily Telegraph," October 11th.

Latest News from Armenia.

The following are only a few of the items of grave news received from the Armenian provinces since our last issue. They emanate from the Patriarchate, and are all therefore from authentic sources :—

Van, September 10th.—Telegram to the Patriarchate, the Press and the Porte—Gendarmes, driven out of Macedonia since the Balkan War, and sent to various towns of Armenia to preserve order, have been a source of constant trouble and provocation. Attacks on Armenian women have been frequent, and on the 9th instant two of these gendarmes, Ismail and Said, shot dead an Armenian dentist, Dr. Melkon, in a crowded street, and then attempted to arrest some Armenians as the murderers. Since this incident the Armenians of the place have closed the Market and stopped all work. They demand either the removal of these gendarmes, or the enlistment into the police force of Armenians as well.

At the funeral of the unfortunate dentist a grave outbreak was averted by the timely withdrawal by the Vali of the gendarmes from the neighbourhood of the Armenian church, where the funeral was taking place. The relations between the parties are very strained, and unless immediate steps are taken to curb the savagery of these gendarmes, very serious consequences might ensue in this unprotected part of the country.

Bayazid (vilayet of Erzeroum), Sept. 11th.—A young Armenian of Van, named Ardashes, returning home from Russia, was wounded by some soldiers near the village of Arzap. A Kurd named Isa, seeing the wounded Armenian lying helpless, ended his misery with a rifle shot.

Sept. 7th.—An Armenian named Setrak, of Toutagh (Erzeroum district), has been murdered by his Kurdish neighbours.

Sept. 9th.—The Armenian headman of Arzap (Bayazid district), was surprised and killed by Kurds, his only weapon of defence being a stone.

Fifty sheep belonging to Harutiun Balian, of Bayazid, have been raided by the sons of the notorious Mustapha Aga.

The Secretary of the Gendarmerie Battalion in Bayazid has grossly violated a young Armenian named Anoushavan, who had recently enlisted in the gendarmerie. The victim took legal action, but he and his two Armenian witnesses have been cast into prison, in spite of the crime having been brought home to the Secretary.

Van, Sept. 14th.—Armenag Setian, an Armenian youth, of Adiljevas (Van district), while looking after cattle an hour's journey from his home, was surprised and killed by neighbouring Kurds, who mutilated him and left on the scene a pair of shoes, with which as a clue one of the murderers, named Morè, of the village of Derekend, has been identified and arrested. It remains to be seen how he will be dealt with.

Telegram from Bayazid to the Patriarch, September 26th.—Avedis Arsenian, a well-known Armenian of the town has been murdered and mutilated by the Kurds. Population greatly excited—authorities indifferent.

The Erzeroum correspondent of "Mschak" has compiled the following statistics of the toll of blood and honour claimed by the Moloch of Kurdish, Circassian and partly Turkish savagery from the Armenians of those parts of Asiatic Turkey which are within reach of newspaper knowledge. The figures cover the doings of the first six months of the present year :—

Murdered, chiefly by Kurdish Begs	...	140
Seriously wounded, most of these being maimed for life	...	113
Kidnapped and violated, girls	69,	
boys 8	...	77
Total	...	330

(Some of the latter have contrived to escape to their parents, moral and physical wrecks, others have been forcibly converted to Islam).

There have been in the same period, 134 armed attacks for plunder on Armenian villages and townships by Kurdish hordes. In but a few cases attacks have been made by gendarmes, but groups of gendarmes have in many cases been passive spectators of acts of brigandage and violence by Kurds. Cases of plunder by small groups of brigands, chiefly Kurds, from houses and farms, number 196.

Cases of organised incitements and threats of massacre, etc., calculated to terrorise the Armenian inhabitants of towns and villages have numbered 229.

This record does not include the numberless cases of incendiarism, thefts, beatings, forcible collection of all manner of illegal exactions imposed at will by Kurdish Begs, forced labour under threat of violence, arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of innocent men and even women for the alleged escape of husband or son from military service, and the endless chapter of insults and vexations of all kinds at the hands of despotic and corrupt officials and fanatical and lawless sections of the Moslem populace, under which Armenians, and in a smaller degree the more peaceful and industrious portion of Moslems, are still groaning, despite the desperate attempts of writers such as Pierre Loti to make Europe believe that Christians are well governed in Turkey.

Letters of Miss E. J. Robinson.

We give below two out of several communications Miss Robinson has addressed to the various newspapers since our last issue:—

I.

A PLEA FOR INTERFERENCE IN ARMENIA'S AID.

Sir Edward Grey's recent speech in the House of Commons, coming as it did less than a month after the massacres of Armenians at Rodosto and Malgara, has made it difficult for those interested in Armenia to understand what more the Turks must do to give that "sufficient provocation" which, in Sir Edward Grey's opinion, will warrant the interference of one or more of the great Powers.

The massacres at Rodosto and Malgara, it will be remembered, were carried out by Turkish soldiers acting under the orders of their officers. The summer residence of the American Missionary Orphanage

close to Adana had been fired and burnt to the ground by Turks a few days before, thus rendering homeless for the second time hundreds of children whose fathers were killed in the massacre of 1909.

In every province of Turkish Armenia, terrible persecution of the Christian population has been going on daily unchecked for a very long time past. Unarmed men are murdered leaving their families destitute, women and children are brutally maltreated, while robberies of whole flocks of sheep and other possessions are quite common, and no justice is to be had anywhere. In some places four pounds of sugar or a few dozen eggs will buy a judge's verdict. Had such things taken place on the Congo, and had negroes been the sufferers the hand of the assassin would long ago have been stayed. The people of the oldest civilized race, the earliest Christian nation, are the sufferers and nothing is done.

Apart from humanitarian reasons, which in the case of Armenia are ignored, there are two very good reasons which make it incumbent on England to go to the rescue of Turkish Armenians in their great necessity. The first is that by drafting the sixty-first article of the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 Lord Salisbury took away from Russia the task of introducing reforms into the government of Asiatic Turkey and handed it over to the Great Powers. In the same year by the Cyprus convention England undertook to help Turkey in carrying out the reforms in question, in return for which the island of Cyprus was assigned to her. How has England kept this covenant?

The second reason is the debt which the European Powers owe to Armenia for having for hundreds of years defended the entrance of Europe against invasion by Asiatic hordes. While Christians in other parts of the world have enjoyed peace and freedom, Armenians have been laying down their lives by hundreds and sometimes thousands at a time, rather than deny their faith.

Armenia is a pleasant, beautiful land. Her inhabitants ask no more than what is due to every civilized human being, namely, the right of being allowed to live and work and own their possessions in peace under a just government. It is surely to the interest of the Turk and Christian alike that the constant stream of emigration, due to the present state of misrule, which is depopulating and ruining the country, should be stopped at once.

"C. S. Monitor," Boston, September 15th.

II.

CONTINUAL MARTYRDOM IN ARMENIA.

Will you of your pity find space in your columns to plead with English people the cause of long-suffering fellow-Christians in Armenia, whose lot is, without the faintest exaggeration, one long martyrdom owing to the anarchy which reigns there?

Armenia is the cradle of the human race, yet since the Christian era began the land of Ararat has witnessed more scenes of carnage than probably any other part of the world. Through constant persecution of every kind the lamp of faith has never grown dim, but burns on more brightly than ever, a beacon light to the rest of the world. What the lot of Christians there is to-day is shown by harrowing accounts which come by every mail telling of cruel murders and mutilations of unarmed persons, outrages on women, girls, and children, and robberies of flocks, herds, and property. When the victims are Christians the criminals are seldom arrested and are never punished.

A few weeks ago the summer residence of the Orphanage belonging to the American missionaries near Adana was burnt to the ground by Turks, thus rendering hundreds of orphans, whose fathers were killed in the massacre of 1909, homeless for the second time. At the monastery of Surp Khateh, in the district of Khizan (Vilayet of Bitlis), the central chapel, built in the eighth century, where the Gospel has been taught for nearly twelve centuries, has been turned into a stable by Tahir Aga, the Kurdish chief, who is the terror of the neighbourhood. Not long ago a Christian Syrian priest named Samuel, of Erun (district of Bitlis), was murdered by the notorious brigand, Mehmed Emin; eight hundred Christians of the district, Syrians and Armenians, rushed to the town imploring protection. The authorities seemed only to mock at the appeal of the Christian peasants, who argued in vain that their crops were being destroyed, their homes at the mercy of inhuman robbers, and that their lives were at stake. No steps have been taken to protect them.

Agriculture in many neighbourhoods is at a standstill, and famine is feared. Though the crops ripened well, labourers dared not venture to the fields to cut them, so many cases of murder and mutilation having occurred in lonely districts. Is it not time for this martyrdom to cease? Will Christians not with one voice answer this question in the affirmative? Ample provision was made for the protection and safe government of the Christian subjects of the Sultan thirty-five years ago by the Berlin Treaty, according to the terms of which the Sultan is answerable for their fulfilment to the European Powers; these terms are still unfulfilled.

I shall be glad to receive the names of any of your readers who wish to insist that the promised protection shall be given at once to these long-suffering people, and that a European Governor-General shall be appointed to keep order.

35a, Elsham Road, Kensington, W.

"The Guardian," September 26th.

Report of the Meeting

OF THE

Armenian United Association of London,

*Held at the Elysée Galleries, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.,
October 5th, 1913.*

The gathering took the form of a *Conversazione*, and though of a purely social character, several addresses in English and Armenian were delivered on subjects nearest to the heart of the assembled company. The Hall was crowded, among those present being many English ladies and gentlemen, whose interest in the Armenian cause was a most gratifying feature. The success of the gathering was enhanced by intervals of vocal and instrumental music, both before and after tea, and between the addresses. Miss M. John was conspicuous by the fascination of her songs, while the pianoforte solos of Miss Bathurst and Miss Jacobs were beyond praise.

The following is a summary of the addresses delivered:—

The President, Lieut.-Col. G. M. GREGORY, in opening the meeting, said:—

It is incumbent on me to say a few words of greeting at this our first meeting after what I may term a period of holiday. I trust that the rest from our monthly gatherings has made you feel that our meetings in the past were not altogether without value, and that they were at least productive of some good in drawing together our community in London. And in renewing each other's acquaintance to-day for a purely social function, let us hope we shall continue the good fellowship of the past, as well as strive to the utmost to further those more serious objects with which our Association has to deal.

What has been a holiday to most of you has, on the contrary, been a period of strenuous work for those who have had to keep the objects of the Association in view, in order to expand its functions and make it a really useful society, not so much for ourselves who enjoy the comforts and liberties of a civilised life, but for those of our countrymen who are still in the iron grip of bondage, and whose lives are one long agony of terror as to what to-morrow has in store for themselves, their womenfolk, and their material possessions.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, a little over six months ago we set to work to resuscitate our Association, and in giving it a new life your united efforts and your sympathies have had much to do. The babe indeed passed into robust childhood in a miraculously short space of time; so much so that within four months of its birth it began to articulate through its mouthpiece, "*Ararat*," and it has gone on talking louder and louder every month. Now, one word as to this publication. Is it going to do the work we want it to do? for by publication alone can we bring to the notice of the world the grievous wrongs our countrymen are suffering. Is it appreciated by you all? for after all, appreciation is the real secret of the success we desire it to have. If we all whole-heartedly appreciate the efforts of the Association in launching such a publication, and we are really conscious of the good it will do, in what way can we all assist in making the publication worthy of its cause, and in ensuring its permanency as a feature of our work?

Two things are absolutely necessary—money and the power of the pen. Now, ladies and gentlemen, please do not mistake what I am saying for a begging sermon—I am not going to send the hat round. We are proud to have among our number those who, blessed with this world's goods, are willing and eager to assist in a just cause; and to them and to us there is no better method of giving assistance than to lay bare to the light of day the facts, the causes, the remedies which go to make up the "Armenian Question." "*Ararat*," with their help, is trying to do all this. And now, having divulged the secret of our venture, let me appeal to those in good circumstances, who were not aware how the trick was done, to come forward with their share, an infinitesimal fraction of their worldly goods, and help us to make "*Ararat*" a permanency so far as money will make it. To those who cannot assist in this way, let me ask them to become annual subscribers—it is only six shillings a year, or sixpence a month. That is the extent of my appeal to you so far as the fuel for our machinery is concerned.

The next requirement is the power of the pen, or the human agency for driving the machinery. In this case I am not going to let out any secrets as to our editorial staff. All that I will tell you is that, as President, I have something to do with that staff, and you may take my word for it that it is wholly inadequate, and that we pay nothing for the writing of articles, all being done for love of the cause. I am not so unreasonable as to expect all of you to be born journalists, and to offer your help in editing—that would certainly be embarrassing. But I do know that there is literary talent hidden away among you all, and that if any desire to help us, whether it be in the shape of articles, suggestions, news, or whatever way you think best, your help will be most welcome—your efforts will receive the most grateful consideration, but I do not promise that we will print all you send us.

One other point in connection with "*Ararat*." I have been told that it is a little too "technical" to please all tastes. Our primary object was that it should be technical, and now that we have weathered through the first three numbers there is no reason why we should not add a few pages of purely literary matter every month to please the literary-minded of our members. But please do not expect the "editorial staff" to do this as well. We want to get at that literary talent that is lying dormant, and I earnestly appeal to those of you, to the imaginative and the poetical, to send us contributions affecting Armenia—stories, folk-lore in which the country is rich, poems and translations of poems, historical sketches, anything, in fact, that will interest our members. I do not promise that we will print them all, but we will use our editorial discrimination without hurting anyone's feelings.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, a very important object of our Association is to render help to orphans and destitute children in Armenia, whether it be by education or otherwise. Our funds in this respect are gradually increasing, thanks to the benevolent-minded among you. A suggestion has been made to me by one of our members—an excellent suggestion—that we should include in our assistance the supply of suitable garments for such children as a protection from the severity of Armenian winters; and that our lady members should make or collect these garments during the long winter months that are now upon us. I am not myself an expert in garments, particularly juvenile or feminine; nor would I have the time to supervise any committee that might be formed for their manufacture. It is essentially a woman's sphere, and as the suggestion was made by Miss Lily John, whose devotion to the work would, I know, be all that we could desire, might I be permitted to ask ladies to co-operate with her in making her unselfish task a success? In the forwarding of the parcels when ready—the mechanical Carter Paterson business—I and our Committee will gladly assist.

I cannot bring my address to a conclusion without referring to the aid our national cause is receiving from sympathetic English friends, who have our deepest gratitude. The British Armenia Committee, among whom are many distinguished Members of Parliament, is naturally on the look out for every opportunity to have the grievous wrongs of Armenia redressed as speedily as possible; and their recent memorial to Sir Edward Grey was well conceived. The tour of Mr. Noel Buxton, M.P., through Russian, Persian and Turkish Armenia is destined to open his eyes to the state of Armenians living under those three Powers, and to enable him to draw conclusions which will stand him in good stead when he takes his seat again in the House of Commons. I would also draw special attention to our lady champion, Miss E. J. Robinson, whose untiring energy in our cause is well known to you now; and we must all pray that her efforts to right wrongs will be crowned with that success which she so well deserves, conscious that

her name will ever be honoured where there is an Armenian present. With all such efforts on the part of sympathising Englishmen and Englishwomen, we might well ask, When are reforms coming? How long must anarchy last? Without attempting to answer these questions, I will only say that the driving force to make the English Government act towards dispelling the national jealousies of the Powers is public opinion; that it is this public opinion that our friends are trying to rouse; and that our Association is keeping well in touch with their humanitarian efforts.

Prof. G. THOUMAÏAN, in laying stress on "The only way out of our difficulty," said:—

I suppose you are all, like me, utterly disheartened at the continuance of bad news from Armenia. Private letters and newspapers are full of heart-rending occurrences: outrage, murder, pillage—in fact, the usual concomitants of anarchy. The behaviour of Armenians is, however, still more to be deplored, falling as they do an easy prey to their assailants, without so much as an attempt at *self-defence*. Indignant as one must be with the cowardly assailants, one cannot but deplore the want of self-reliance shown by the victims, who have submitted patiently to the indignities heaped on them and their belongings. That a change, however, is coming over our compatriots, there are significant signs—indeed they are beginning to realise the truth of the adage, *Aide toi, le ciel t'aidera*. A worm will turn, we are told, and the submissive Armenian has begun to see that to resist the worst phases of anarchy he must make a bold stand against his tormentors, and not only take but give knocks as well. These are encouraging signs, and make us hopeful of better things.

In a recent conversation with a German pastor, who had travelled throughout Armenia, I was told that during his nine months' intercourse with Armenians and Kurds in that country, he was impressed with the growing idea of self-defence among the Armenians, which came as a revelation to him. It was the only practical way out of the difficulty, and he cited case after case where attacks by Kurds had been resisted by barricades and a stout front, compelling the attackers to abandon their tactics and retire; while in some instances the Kurds had even agreed to make peace and live on friendly terms with the Armenians.

The German pastor also confirmed the homage paid by Turkish officers to the excellent military qualities of Armenian soldiers in the late war; and his opinion was firm on the point that once the Armenians resolved to resist their Kurdish assailants, the latter would treat them with awe and respect. In this light, therefore, the position certainly takes a more hopeful aspect. The disregard of Treaties and promises by the Powers, and especially by England, has done its worst, particu-

larly in raising hopes which were never to be fulfilled. We, Armenians of Europe, are not the less to blame for having placed faith in these hopes, and so, unconsciously indeed, to have lured our countrymen to expectancy and inaction, ending in their own undoing. The time has now come to tell them plainly that no reliance can be placed on Europe, but they must do for themselves what the civilised Powers of Europe refuse to undertake. *Self-defence is the key-note of the Armenian Question*, and it is the last hope of a distracted people that they should themselves undertake the most sacred duty of protecting their lives, their honour, their possessions. May they and we be found equal to the task.

Mr. M. BALIAN followed with his opinion as to "Why our cause has hitherto failed." He said:—

It was not my intention this afternoon to occupy your time and attention, but I am compelled to ask your indulgence, owing to our much esteemed and worthy compatriot, Professor Thoumaïan, having ascribed the failure of our cause in the past to the lack of martial spirit among us.

When I compare his experience and knowledge with mine, it appears presumptuous for me to venture not only to contradict him, but to give a wholly different reason. I feel it incumbent on me to do this, and I leave you to judge between us.

It is now some years that I have studied the question affecting our cause in all its bearings, and I have paid particular attention to movements of a similar character in ancient and modern history. Such studies have all tended to prove, without exception, that national movements have proved successful so soon as a given number have been willing to sacrifice their personal aspirations and, sinking their individuality altogether, have worked for the cause they had at heart with a unity of purpose and aim which only death could annul.

It has been my misfortune to see, even with my limited experience, that whenever an attempt has been made to bring a few individuals together for the purpose of directing and forwarding our cause, disension has quickly appeared, and the attempt has proved a failure. It has soon become evident that *all* desired to lead—that none had any idea of being in the rank and file, irrespective of his abilities. This, of course, was clear indication that the real aim and purpose they had in view was not *the cause*, but their own self-importance.

I say it, I say it here in your presence, though it grieves me deeply to do so, that, even allowing that circumstances may have militated against us, the main cause of our failure has been, and is, our utter lack of the spirit of union, self-abnegation, and self-sacrifice essential to

such a cause as ours. Again I say most regretfully, what is notorious, that—with very few exceptions—when two or three Armenians come together for whatever purpose, instead of fostering, helping, and taking a constructive course, they deliberately choose the destructive attitude.

These statements, unpalatable though they be, you must know are obvious truths. It is as well we should realise them to enable us to eradicate the evil which is undermining our efforts. The martial spirit has not been dead within us. On the contrary, I have had opportunities of feeling and realising its presence. What we lack is a leading, guiding spirit, who shall so unite us, so enable us to sink our individuality in the cause, that we should with one concerted aim and purpose seek the object we have in view. Revolutionary movements are to be deprecated, and I am glad they would have no support at this gathering, for, I venture to express the opinion, our best and ultimate interest lies in our continuing to be subjects of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

I am glad to be able to add that recently signs are becoming discernable which tend to show that we are beginning to realise the error of our ways. And in conclusion let me repeat that so soon as cohesion, unity of purpose and self-sacrifice are established among us, the ultimate success of our cause will be assured.

Mr. H. SARAFIAN said :—

In the first place I wish to congratulate the Association on the steps it is taking for the relief of orphans and destitute children. A ladies' committee for the manufacture and supply of clothing for the winter months is a step in the right direction, and I trust that financial aid will be forthcoming to secure that success which the scheme richly deserves.

With regard to the Armenian Question, I can but repeat that but for the national jealousies of the Powers, and the act of England in having the XVIth Article of the San Stefano Treaty replaced by the LXIst of the Berlin Treaty, Armenians would have had reforms long ago under Russian auspices, and the population of Turkish Armenia would now have been 500,000 more. Our requests are small and are comprised in the terms equal law and justice for all, whether they be Turks or Armenians. It is cruel to allow Turks and Kurds to bear arms, while Armenians are deprived of them.

If Turkey had been wise she would have sacrificed the whole of Macedonia, which she could not govern, than to have precipitated the Balkan War. A similar state of affairs will follow the Armenian Question unless she puts her house in order without delay. Armenians have flourished under Russia, and Russia is willing to help their country.

A continuance of anarchy will mean that Russia will cross the frontier. Armenians can no longer look to England as their protector, for her past promises have all been broken. All that can be done with the pen has been done to save Turkey from humiliation. Now Armenians must rely on themselves and on the truth of the saying that "to die for liberty is a pleasure and not a pain." In their endeavour we feel sure that they will have the Russians on their side.

Madame S. M. ADAMOFF, well-known in social circles of Bakou in Russia, addressed a few words of appreciation of the activities of the Association, which had been a welcome surprise to her. A further surprise was the prevalence of the English language among Armenians here ; and with a genial and kindly reproof, meant for those who were allowing the mother tongue to rust, she expressed the hope that the Armenian language would ever be predominant for expressing our joys and our sorrows when we gathered together, even in our sojourn in foreign lands.

Madame RAFFI referred to the charitable portion of the work outlined in the speeches. However praiseworthy, she said, charity may be in relieving urgent distress, it had nevertheless a negative effect on the ultimate welfare of the population. What was needed was not charity alone, but also the establishment of such conditions whereby the people would be able to help themselves—by education and by the judicious establishment of handicrafts.

Literary Section.

BALLAD.

(From the Armenian, in Raffi's "Harem.")

Dark forests clothe the mountain-side,
And o'er that mountain's lofty head
The heavens bend their arches wide,
And, dome-like, round its summit spread.

A castle stood upon the steep,
Enchanted by a witch's spell;
A maiden wept within the keep,
Bound by the chains of slav'ry fell.

Alone and sad, the maiden fair
Sat in her dark and narrow room.
No hope had she, but dire despair
Had worn her heart with thoughts of gloom.

A minstrel passed—as it befell—
A singer, singing sweetest strains;
He broke the witch's evil spell,
And loosed the gentle maiden's chains.

She ran to him and kissed his face,
And said, "How I have longed for thee!
"God, in His mercy and His grace,
"Hath sent thee here to set me free!"

And when, above the mountain steep,
The moon shone out her silver light,
And when the stars began to peep,
Twinkling and scatt'ring jewels bright,

The minstrel's love stole out unseen,
With burning thoughts of her belov'd;
All through the woods so dark and green,
Seeking, and seeking him, she roved.

A hut there was within that wood,
Meet dwelling for some dervish old;
All lined with moss and leaves, it stood
Protected from the rain and cold.

The minstrel lived within this nook,
And sang alone beneath the trees.
His friend—Firdausi's wondrous book,
His comrades—Sadi and Hafiz.

The Houri of the castle there
Spent many happy days and nights—
Immortal souls in Jennet * fair
Have never tasted such delights.

He wiped the tears by sorrow shed,
And healed the wounds by sorrow wrought;
Like captive from a prison fled,
Her cares and woes she soon forgot.

Broken and aged was her sire;
A mighty Prince, the castle's lord,
To satisfy his heart's desire,
Had reft her from him with his sword.

The Prince held office high at court,
And countless women, bright as day,
Lived in his harem's vile resort,
And slaves, more than my tongue can say.

His women, guarded day and night,
Caged in with iron bars he keeps;
But LOVE, more strong than despot's might,
Breaks through that cage, those bars o'erleaps.

Translation by ZABELLE C. BOYAJIAN.

* The Paradise of Mohammed, where the souls of the blest are waited upon by beautiful houris, and fed with delicious fruits.

Announcements.

ARMENIAN UNITED ASSOCIATION OF LONDON.

The following Meetings will be held during the next three months at the Elysée Galleries, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W. :—

Sunday, Nov. 9th.	Commemorative Festival in honour of the Invention of the Alphabet.
„ Dec. 14th.	The nature of these two gatherings will be notified later.
„ Jan. 18th.	

PERIODICALS CONNECTED WITH ARMENIA AND THE NEAR EAST.

Armenia—A literary monthly Magazine, two dollars a year. 175, Fifth Avenue, New York.

Pour les peuples d'Orient—Organe de Revendications Armeniennes, 10 fr. annually. 4, Rue Crebillon, 4 Paris Vo.

The Friend of Armenia—Quarterly Paper. 1s. Annually. 47, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

The Near East—A Weekly Review. Annual Subscription £1. 16—17, Devonshire Square, London, E.C.

BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, MAPS, &c.

Armenia.—Its People, Sufferings and Demands. The British Armenia Committee, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster, London. 1d.

The Church of Armenia—Her History, Doctrine, Rule, Discipline, Liturgy, Literature, and Existing Condition, by Mgr. Malachia Ormanian, translated by G. Marcar Gregory, V.D., 5s. net. (postage 4d.).

Map of Turkish Armenia.—Enlarged edition of the Map appearing in this periodical, on cloth to fold, in cover, 1s. per copy.

The Hon. Secretary of the Armenian United Association of London will be glad to supply copies of the above two works.

The pages of "ARARAT" will be open for the discussion of the expressed views in the signed articles or letters. The Editorial Committee does not necessarily subscribe to all such views.

All communications affecting this periodical should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, The Armenian United Association of London, 32, Richmond Gardens, Shepherd's Bush, London, W.



The Armenian United Association of London.

FOUNDED 1898. RECONSTRUCTED 1913.

Officials of the Association.

G. M. GREGORY, Lieut.-Col., V.D. ..	<i>President.</i>
Madame RAFFI	} <i>Vice-Presidents.</i>
J. G. JOAKIM	
A. P. HACOBIAN	<i>Hon. Treasurer.</i>
J. A. CALANTARIENTS, M.D.	<i>Hon. Asst. Treasurer.</i>
ARAM RAFFI	<i>Hon. Secretary.</i>

This Association has been founded with the double object of (1) drawing together all Armenians in the British capital, bringing them into touch with the British public, and thus establishing a closer sympathy between the two nations; and (2) focussing in the centre of the civilised world the many questions, both social and national, which affect Armenia and the Armenians.

With the above objects in view, the Association is directing its energies to—

- (1) The establishment of a permanent habitation in London, which will embrace a hall for meetings, a reading-room and a library.
- (2) The organisation of social and literary gatherings.
- (3) The relief and education of Armenian orphans rendered destitute through chronic misrule in Armenia.
- (4) Watching the trend of political affairs affecting Armenia, and doing the utmost by pacific means towards the amelioration of the country and the people through (a) a Standing Committee, and by (b) the publication of literature.
- (5) The gradual raising of a fund for the establishment of an Armenian Church in London.

Membership is open to Armenians of both sexes.

Subscription :—Annual, 10/-; entrance fee, 5/-. Life Members, 5 guineas.

Sympathisers and friends of other nationalities are eligible for election as Hon. Members, but they have no voice in the management, and pay no subscriptions.

It will be evident that the above nominal subscription is just sufficient for the bare social functions of the Association. The more important functions are dependent for their success on the liberality of sympathisers, and donations are earnestly requested for the above national objects from those who are in a position to contribute. The response since the reorganisation of the Association has been very encouraging, but much more is needed to place the Association on a secure basis for prosecuting the work outlined above.

Communications affecting Membership, or any of the objects of the Association, should be addressed to

THE HON. SECRETARY,
32, Richmond Gardens,
Shepherd's Bush Green, London, W.

